

Forming New Political Parties

THE OLD ORGANIZATIONS STAND FOR THE SAME ONE THING

A Crack Spreading Across the Front of Both of Them—The Cleavage Following the Lines Broken in Cities and States Where Reform is Going "Too Far."

By LINCOLN STEFFENS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 9.—A political realignment is going on here. There is a great splitting crack across the face of both the old parties. It isn't a new crack; on the contrary, it is very old, but it is spreading just now and so rapidly that the outlines of four political divisions are discernible. Republican and Democratic, Conservative and Liberal. The Democratic leaders seem not to see the cleavage very willingly, but the President goes and so does Senator Aldrich.

Neither of these two men could trace the line in language for me. Mr. Aldrich had names for the two sides; it was he that first used the word "Conservatives" for those who stood with him in both the old parties, and he waved away all others as "Radicals." He said that the division was not one of principle, but he couldn't or wouldn't describe what it was. And neither could the President. Yet these two men are the leaders, at present, of what may turn out to be two new American parties.

And we need two new political parties. One isn't enough. When Governor Folk of Missouri, was Attorney General of St. Louis, he called on the President and they spent an evening together. After it Mr. Folk said:

"Isn't it too bad that two men who agree as the President and I do on all moral questions, should be in different parties?"

When this remark was repeated to the President, he answered, quick as a flash: "No, it isn't bad. It's good that there should be men in both parties who agree on all moral questions."

The President was wiser than Mr. Folk, but not so practical. Both parties should stand for right things, but they don't. In a representative democracy both parties should represent the public good. But our parties don't. They might, and they should, but they don't. They pursue the best of the common interest. But our parties don't differ at all. They both stand to-day for special interests and graft, and we are coming to realize—we, the voters—that we haven't any parties at all, nothing but organizations that have us.

What is the difference between the Republican organization that exploited Philadelphia and the Democratic organization that sold out St. Louis? Or between Tammany Hall in New York and the so-called Republican party of Cincinnati? There wasn't any difference. They were alike in the character of their leadership, the purposes of their organization and the methods of their rule. I have never been South, but in the North and West and East, the only correct classification is between the cuts and the ins. All reformed majority parties—no matter what their names—whether Republican or Democratic, look alike, act alike and talk alike.

And, curiously enough, the minority parties all resemble one another. The minority Republican party of St. Louis was a replica of the Democratic minority organization of Philadelphia; it wasn't quite so miserable, because the St. Louis Republicans got some Federal graft from their national party. The Philadelphia Democrats lived only on the crumbs dropped from the table of the majority party. And that's the way our minority parties live, on the majority party. They are "kept" by the boss grafters, to keep us divided and catch us if we run away.

That there is this tacit agreement between the two parties we all know well, but we can see it best in a State like New York, where one party controls the city, the other the State. All "business" that is done at Albany is handled by a combination of Tammany Democrats and up-State Republicans, the majority groups. I know of but one State where the people, sick of "their" majority party, have had a minority party fit to go to. That State is Ohio. In Missouri, Wisconsin and now in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Illinois, reformers have had to seize, clean up and set about the reorganization of the rotten old majority party, whichever it was.

After visiting a few such States and cities one becomes party blind. When I came down here I couldn't tell the difference between a Democrat and a Republican, and it hurt my pride to have statesmen tell me about their parties. The candid thieves who run our States and cities had ceased long ago to try to work off that sort of stuff on me, and I thought that all talk of parties was for the "peepul," not for me and the railroads and the bootlickers, who change parties as we change cars to follow the majority from State to State. But still they would talk parties, and the Speaker, Mr. Cannon, was especially annoying. He sat me down in a big chair, gave me a cigar, stuck another in his own mouth, and then he stood up over me and delivered a regular stump speech. He called it an interview, but it was the sort of oration he delivers to his constituents out in Illinois. All about "the" party, "the great party which has made this great country what it is—great." Since he is a Democrat, I thought at first that he was "joking," but he seemed very serious and I put it down to habit till by and by it dawned on me that he was trying to deceive himself as well as me. I half believe he half-believes the G. O. P. brings up good crops. But he said one thing that is true: "This is a sharp party."

It is. As I left the room, John Sharp Williams, the minority leader, entered. They work together, these two, for government by parties. We have a bi-partisan system here, as well as in the cities and States. The pension bill crack goes to Democrats and Republicans; no party difference there. It is the plover and harbor bill, the Democrats get their "divvy." They don't get so much as "the" party gets, but there's no difference in "pork," which, mind you, is treated as "graft." So with the other party, the public buildings bill, Toledo needs right now a Federal building; so does Atlanta, and other places, but they can't have what they need till there's enough money to go around to all the congressmen of both parties who

voted right. And they vote right here without any present regard to party. There is a great splitting crack across the face of both the old parties. It isn't a new crack; on the contrary, it is very old, but it is spreading just now and so rapidly that the outlines of four political divisions are discernible. Republican and Democratic, Conservative and Liberal. The Democratic leaders seem not to see the cleavage very willingly, but the President goes and so does Senator Aldrich.

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J. A. BLENNER

Agent in Virginia for the

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White, and Royal Tourist

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RICHMOND, VA.

QUEEN INSURANCE COMPANY OF AMERICA.

ANNUAL STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1905. OF THE CONDITION AND AFFAIRS OF THE QUEEN INSURANCE COMPANY OF AMERICA, ORGANIZED UNDER THE LAWS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, MADE TO THE STOCKHOLDERS AND CREDITORS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA, IN PURSUANCE TO THE LAWS OF VIRGINIA.

President—EDWARD F. BEDDALL.
Vice-President—GEORGE W. BURCHILL.
Secretary—WILLIAM S. RAYMOND.
Manager—S. J. TUPPER, ALBANY, GA.
Principal Office—110 CEDAR STREET, NEW YORK CITY.
Local Agent in Virginia—W. WALKER, residence, RICHMOND, VA.
Organized or incorporated, SEPTEMBER 11, 1901; commenced business, SEPTEMBER 11, 1901.

CAPITAL.
Amount of capital stock subscribed..... \$1,000,000 00
Amount of capital stock paid up in cash..... 1,000,000 00

ASSETS.
Loans on mortgage (fully recorded and being the first liens on the fee simple) upon which more than one year's interest is due..... \$71,000 00
Interest accrued on said mortgage loans..... 1,253 23
Total value of mortgaged premises (insured for \$150,000 as collateral)..... \$108,000 00

BONDS.
U. S. Government 5 per cent. bonds, 1930..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 4 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 3 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 2 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/2 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/4 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/8 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/16 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/32 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/64 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/128 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/256 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/512 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/1024 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/2048 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/4096 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/8192 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/16384 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/32768 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/65536 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/131072 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/262144 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/524288 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/1048576 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/2097152 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/4194304 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/8388608 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/16777216 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/33554432 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/67108864 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/134217728 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/268435456 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/536870912 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/1073741824 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/2147483648 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/4294967296 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/8589934592 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/17179869184 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/34359738368 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/68719476736 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/137438953472 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/274877906944 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/549755813888 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/1099511627776 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/2199023255552 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/4398046511104 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/8796093022208 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/17592186044416 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/35184372088832 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/70368744177664 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/140737488355328 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/281474976710656 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/562949953421312 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/1125899906842624 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/2251799813685248 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/4503599627370496 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/9007199254740992 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/18014398509481984 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/36028797018963968 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/72057594037927936 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/144115188075855872 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/288230376151711744 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/576460752303423488 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/1152921504606846976 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/2305843009213693952 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/4611686018427387904 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/9223372036854775808 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/18446744073709551616 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/36893488147419103232 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/73786976294838206464 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/147573952589676412928 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/295147905179352825856 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/590295810358705651712 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/1180591620717411303424 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/2361183241434822606848 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/4722366482869645213696 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/9444732965739290427392 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/18889465931478580854784 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/37778931862957161709568 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/75557863725914323419136 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/151115727451828646838272 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/302231454903657293676544 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/604462909807314587353088 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/1208925819614629174706176 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/2417851639229258349412352 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/4835703278458516698824704 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/9671406556917033397649408 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/19342813113834066795298816 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/38685626227668133590597632 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/77371252455336267181195264 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/154742504910672534362390528 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/309485009821345068724781056 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/618970019642690137449562112 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/1237940039285380274899124224 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/2475880078570760549798248448 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/4951760157141521099596496896 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/9903520314283042199192993792 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/19807040628566084398385987584 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/39614081257132168796771975168 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/79228162514264337593543950336 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/158456325028528675187087900672 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/316912650057057350374175801344 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/633825300114114700748351602688 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/1267650600228229401496703205376 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/2535301200456458802993406410752 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/5070602400912917605986812821504 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/10141204801825835211973625643008 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/20282409603651670423947251286016 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/40564819207303340847894502572032 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/81129638414606681695789005144064 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/162259276829213363391778010288128 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/324518553658426726783556020576256 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/649037107316853453567112041152512 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/1298074214633706907134224022305024 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/2596148429267413814268448044610048 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/5192296858534827628536896089220096 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/10384593717069655257073792178440192 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/20769187434139310514147584356880384 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/41538374868278621028295168713760768 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/83076749736557242056590337427521536 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/166153499473114484113180674855043072 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/332306998946228968226361349710086144 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/664613997892457936452722699420172288 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/1329227995784915872905445398840344576 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/2658455991569831745810890797680689152 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/5316911983139663491621781595361378304 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/10633823966279326983243563190722756608 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/21267647932558653966487126381445513216 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/42535295865117307932974252762891026432 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/85070591730234615865948505525782052864 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/170141183460469231731897011051564105728 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/340282366920938463463794022103128211456 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/680564733841876926927588044206256422912 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/1361129467683753853855176088412512845824 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/2722258935367507707710352176825025691648 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/5444517870735015415420704353650051383296 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/10889035741470030830841408707300102766592 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/21778071482940061661682817414600205533184 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/43556142965880123323365634829200411066368 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/87112285931760246646731269658400822132736 per cent. bonds, 1917..... 10,000 00
U. S. Government 1/1742245